UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Need of Knowledge

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

"New Wars for Old"

By T. BARTON AKELEY

Brent Allinson and the Legion

VOLUME XCIII NUMBER 8

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

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Contents

EDITORIAL—

Notes 119
The Need of Knowledge.—REV. ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY 122
Jottings.—J. H. H. 123

ARTICLES—

"New Wars for Old."—T. BARTON AKELEY.. 123
Brent Allinson and the Legion..... 125
A Travesty of the Christian Faith.—*An Indian Correspondent* 129

POETRY—

In Times of Disillusion.—*Clarence R. Skinner* 119

CORRESPONDENCE—

Independence for India.—ELIZABETH F. S. KITE 130
Obeying the Laws.—REV. HENRY W. PINKHAM 130
The Labor Government and Gandhi.—T. H. K. REZMIE 130
A Unitarian Church Declares Against War.—REV. ALSON H. ROBINSON..... 131
Unitarian Ministers Resolve..... 131

THE FIELD—

The War on War..... 131
War—A Colossal Social Sin..... 132

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIII THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1924 NUMBER 8

IN TIMES OF DISILLUSION

The world has grown unutterably old—
A place of bitter disillusionment.
Like some sad ruin out of ancient time
Half-buried in obliterating sand,—
So seems the gallant world of yesteryear
To one who fellowshipped with wistful dreams.

Fair hopes did blossom for a flaming hour
And they were radiant. Bright youth went forth
In high imaginings, and all the world
Expectant and aglow, went forth with them
To greet the age of new inbrothering.

But now the heart of the world is broken and sad.
The dream is spent—the curtain's drawn—and those
Who strode to martial music, spoke great words
Befitting these great days, have laid aside
The mask of Jove-like visage and have shrunk
To lesser mould to play the cynic's part.
The candle that so mightily illumed
Has sputtered and gone out.
The house where we held rendezvous with hope
Is dark. The dream is gone. The dreamers go
In sad dismay to disillusionment.

Does God change masks when the curtain's drawn,
Put off high resolution and descend
To lower levels to play a lesser part?
Not God! That cannot be. No, God's not through.
There's hope immense to keep hope strong
And thrill the dreamer's soul with battle call.
God's unsurrendered! Aye, He's God in that.

God's unsurrendered? So am I! For dreams
Outlast the dreamer. And when the great event
Is chronicled, 'tis vision will prove true—
The final truth in all events—supreme
And ultimate.
Therefore I'll dream.
I'll light the candle yet again, illume
The dark forsaken house, bring back the folk
Who thrilled at glimpses of a fairer world,
People the stage with pageantry and bid
Full panoplied illusion still enact
The epic of inbrothering.
I'll summon from out time's unfathomed store
Great souls who in the midst of hopeless days
Kept faith and knew the loneliness of God.
Those splendid deaths and yet more splendid lives
Which rallied their faltering age with valiantness
And left strong memories to breed strong hopes.
For such undying fellowship has power
To swell our shrunken souls to ampler mould
And make us truer men.
I'll still proclaim
The "vision splendid" 'til it strikes God-Fire
In old and broken hearts, and urges on
The world to consummate its dream.
God's unsurrendered! So am I! Therefore
I live communicate with hope. I light
The candle and—I dream.

—*Clarence R. Skinner.*

We welcome to our list of Editorial Contributors Dr. Louis L. Mann, Rabbi of Sinai Temple, Chicago. We count it an honor to have this distinguished preacher on the staff of UNITY, as the successor of the late Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, so many years associated with this paper, and also in his own right as one of the most successful leaders and finest spirits among the younger prophets of Israel in America. In a letter received from Dr. Mann, in answer to our invitation, he says:

> I am deeply grateful for the opportunity of joining a group of men whose service for the cause of human brotherhood has been so signal and outstanding. It therefore gives me great pleasure to accept, and I hope to send contributions from time to time as you suggest.

Let there be no mistake in the matter of our attitude toward Germany and the Dawes Report. When we said a week ago, that the proposed loan represented a conspiracy of Allied financial interests for the completion of the conquest of the German people, we had no idea of intimating that Germany should escape responsibility for the damage wrought by her troops in France and Belgium. We believe in the principle of making a nation pay for what its armies do in wartime—so much so, indeed, that we would apply the principle not only to Germany but to the Allies as well. But this principle has nothing to do with what is known as "reparations." Nobody has ever pretended that the payments demanded of Germany by the Reparations Commission under the Treaty of Versailles have anything but a very casual relationship with the question of damaged territory and destroyed property. What the Treaty of Versailles does is to start out with the basic assumption, now many times proved to be a lie, that Germany is exclusively and entirely responsible for the war, and then to undertake to translate that responsibility into terms of cash payment which will lay upon the shoulders of the Germans, and thus lift from the shoulders of the Allies, the full costs of the struggle. And it is because the Dawes Commission accepts this assumption, and simply attempts anew what the Reparations Commission and international conferences innumerable have attempted these five years past in vain, that its work is as futile and as cruel as all that has gone before. In this case, for a wonder, injustice and hypocrisy will not work. What the Germans may do, we do not know. They may accept the Report—hungry and desperate men will do anything. But the European situation remains the same.

Our reaction to the Dawes Report was immediately one of dismay and despair. We began to doubt our own judgment, however, when we caught the deluge of approbation which swept the press of this country. We seem not to be immune even now, after all these years of bitter experience, to the propaganda influences which control our newspapers! But just in time there came to us a word which strengthened our feeble knees. We want to share this with our readers in confirmation of our own conviction upon this whole Dawes business. The word to which we refer comes to us in a private letter from a professor in a great American university, himself one of the few most distinguished scholars in our country today. He writes:

The Dawes Report makes me sad. Not that I expected much, but it is frankly worse than I had anticipated. The Allied and associate bankers and politicians seem highly pleased. What will Macdonald do? . . . In what respects does this plan improve the lot of Germany or the economic condition of Europe? It talks about future prosperity, while it provides for the draining of the nation's resources. What are the motive forces or conditions from which this prosperity is to come? How can a surplus of exports, amounting to 2½ billions a year, be secured? How can a crushed and discontented people be expected to submit to forced production indefinitely without any hope of enjoying the fruits of their labor? Where among keen competitors will this production, greater than in pre-war days, find markets? The exploited nation is not even told what the total of its indebtedness is, or how long it must toil for its masters. It must be as heavily taxed as the victors in order that the proceeds must go to them. . . . Again Germany is asked to sign on the dotted line . . . and to sign quickly before the people have a chance to be heard in the election. Such imponderables as humanity and justice are seldom considered by "economic experts."

The British Labor Party moves from achievement to achievement in its government of England. We have already spoken in these columns of the recognition of Soviet Russia, the release of Gandhi from prison, and the abandonment of the Singapore naval base project. To these splendid deeds now add the abandonment of secret diplomacy in the announcement that henceforth all treaties contemplated by His Majesty's Government are to lie upon the table of the House of Commons for examination by all interested in documents of this kind. For twenty-one days, it is promised, all treaties will thus be made accessible; and "all agreements, commitments and understandings which might bind the nation to any specific action" will be submitted to the House. This is "open covenants openly arrived at" with a vengeance. The idea marks a revolution in world diplomacy, perhaps a new epoch in human affairs. The very announcement of such a policy must have curdled the blood of Lord Curzon, and equally filled with dismay the heart of Sir Edward Grey. For both Liberal and Conservative have played fast and loose with secret compacts in the past, binding the nation to obligations involving money and blood of which no man knew outside the Cabinet, and sometimes a secret ring inside the Cabinet. To this particular type of abomination there is evidently now to be an end, at least in England, for we cannot believe that once done, this thing will ever be undone. There are precedents established which know not the fate of governments, and this is one of them. Governments may come and go, as tides of the sea rise and fall, but certain monuments once built endure. If we have hope for the future in these dire days, it is because of achievements of this sort, little heralded perhaps in the chronicle of passing events, but big with portend of a better day for man. Hail to Macdonald and his associates! Their government may make mistakes and be guilty of compromises, but it is headed right and is doing things that count!

If you want to know the kind of government that we have in this country, note the following succession of events. (1) Attorney-General Daugherty is charged with various and sundry offenses; (2) the leader of the attack upon the Attorney-General is Senator Wheeler, of Montana; (3) Senator Wheeler is made chairman of the committee chosen by the Senate to investigate Daugherty; (4) Senator Wheeler conducts the investigation ruthlessly and reveals damaging evidence against the Attorney-General; (5) Senator Wheeler is indicted by a mysterious Grand Jury sitting in Montana;

(6) "when it was announced on Tuesday that Senator Wheeler had been indicted, Mr. Daugherty authorized the Associated Press to make the announcement that the Department of Justice had nothing whatever to do with the indictment" (New York *Times*); (7) "William J. Burns, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, and intimate friend of ex-Attorney-General Daugherty, admitted today that he had sent three of his men into Montana to aid in building up a case against Senator Wheeler. He also admitted that he had reported to Mr. Daugherty, etc. . . . Mr. Burns's face was ashen when he made the admissions which corroborated Senator Wheeler's charge that agents of the Department of Justice, under Mr. Daugherty, had gone into Montana to aid in making a case against him in the courts" (New York *Times*).

Lies, deceptions, "frame-ups" — the Department of Justice (so-called) used to serve private ends and betray public interests, to protect criminals and assail honest citizens and public servants—this is the kind of government we have in Washington, and have had for years. Just remember this in connection with the fact that it is this same Department of "Justice" that has been hunting "reds" all these years!

It is of interest to note that in all the current discussions of so-called racial superiority there is only one class represented. It is stronger to say the superior. Never have we been able to discover even one single case of admitted inferiority on the part of the speakers and writers on the subjects. It is always the other fellow that is inferior. It always has been so. Every judge of human qualities always sets up himself or his group as the standard by which all others are compared. The yellow man is sure that he is above the white, and the white is sure he is above the yellow. To the Greeks, the non-Greek was a barbarian. The modern so-called Anglo-Saxon is a product of an almost infinite volume of a mixture of racial stocks.

But he is sure all too often that the rest of mankind belongs to a lower order of beings. The Negro in America may have an inferiority complex, but he is rapidly getting over it. The Negro is human and will run true to human nature. He will not only claim his equality but his superiority just as all other people do. To us this discussion of racial superiority is a joke. It is the old story of children sticking out their tongues at one another. It is the "chosen people" business all over again. A little serious reflection on the fact that no one admits his inferiority, and that all claim membership in Humanity's "400," might at least raise a question as to the value of membership in such an inclusive aristocracy.

The idealization of home countries by immigrants from those countries is perfectly natural, and yet this idealization makes it very difficult properly to interpret the progress of events in their home lands. Men who, if they had remained in England, Germany, or any other European country, might have found themselves on the side of the opposition, in America find themselves supporting every policy of the government of the country from which they came. Americans of English birth gave loyal support to Lloyd-George as premier of England at a time when he had been repudiated by the people of democratic spirit in England. If they had remained at home, we are sure they would have been opposed to Mr. George. Frenchmen in America are supporting Poincaré. They do not seem to realize that in France upwards of half a million members of the "Society for the Rights of Man" have energetically opposed the Ruhr policy from the beginning. We ought to remember that no government in Europe represents all the people. Whenever we identify the government of a country with the people of that country we make a great mistake. It would be of help to the democrats of European countries if they could depend upon the support of democrats of other lands. People of democratic spirit in Europe are often compelled to fight not only the forces of reaction in their own country, but also against those forces allied with deluded immigrant idealists.

The churches are really waking up on the Outlawry of War question. After dilly-dallying with the League of Nations and the World Court, and discovering that these issues are spiritually inadequate as they are politically impossible, the churches are now finding in Outlawry a genuine expression of their latent pacifist sentiments, and are rallying to the cause with growing enthusiasm and determination. We have already recorded the splendid action of the Methodists in their recent convention in Pittsburg. Now note the action of the Presbyterians as taken in the more recent meeting of the Presbytery of Chicago, which represents not merely the city of Chicago but a large part of the Illinois area! In a "Memorial on War," addressed to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, announced to meet in Grand Rapids, Michigan, next month, the Presbytery of Chicago, by a vote of 74 to 4, declared, among other things,

> The Presbytery of Chicago respectfully petitions the General Assembly to issue a deliverance opposing the anti-Christian philosophy which imagines or pretends that war is inevitable; to declare it to be our deliberate judgment that the war system as a system is fundamentally opposed to the teachings and example of Jesus, and must be speedily abandoned if civilization is to escape collapse; . . . and to pledge our co-operation with other churches and with forward-looking men everywhere in *a crusade for the swift outlawry of war by international agreement.*

The progress of Outlawry is the most remarkable thing that we have ever known in our experience. Starting a few years ago with one man, without any organized backing, it now competes on equal terms with the prodigiously financed and organized campaign for the League and the Court, and will in a few months now be in the lead as the one outstanding peace cause of the day. And all through the sheer and solitary power of an *Idea!*

It is well that the churches are waking up on this Outlawry of War issue, for if they don't it is certain that they will forfeit even those few rags of respectability that were left to them after the late war was done. They may fail, in other words, but the laity will *not* fail! War is going, just as slavery went; the only question is as to whether it is going under the leadership or in spite of the leadership of Christianity. Witness, for example, what happened out in Whitestone, Long Island, the other Sunday. In the absence of the minister of the local Methodist church, a Sergeant Reid, war veteran, was asked to supply the pulpit. Climbing into this honored place, the Sergeant began to talk as follows:

> Last week one of our Methodist leaders lauded the spiritual exaltation gained by our young men in the recent war, and decried an effort to have the church take a stand against future bloodshed. Perhaps there is some excuse for such talk from a man who spent his period of service in France lecturing and preaching to the boys and visiting them in hospitals—all well behind the danger zone. But I have never heard any of the boys who laid on hospital cots, or who lost their legs, or who cursed the Huns and the mud in the front trenches speak of the spiritual exaltation of their experience. I am afraid that any clergyman who sees spiritual value in a struggle that costs 26,000,000 lives and leaves the world asking if there is anything good in this so-called Christian civilization, needs to reread Christ's words in the New Testament. If the church does not teach the nations that war is always wrong, that it is never and can never be Christ's way of settling disputes between groups of men, who can or who will teach them? It seems to me that this is one of the great tasks and duties and opportunities of the Christian churches today, to outlaw war.

Please note that here is Outlawry again! What is becoming clear, even to the densest mind, is the fact that so long as war is left respectable, legal, sanctified, so long is it going to be utterly impossible to get rid of it. What is necessary, if public opinion and hence public practice is ever to be changed, is that war shall be stamped, labeled, defined, denounced, degraded,

outlawed, as a crime. Make it as disreputable to support or apologize for war as it is disreputable to support or apologize for prostitution. Make it as criminal as it is now glorious to be a soldier. Make it as treasonable for officers of government to declare and conduct war as it is for them to practice all "high crimes and misdemeanors." This would bring a change of attitude and atmosphere which would save the world!

The Need of Knowledge

It is often said that we will never have peace in the world until we have it in the hearts of men. This may be true but we never will have peace until we have it in the minds of men as well. The machinery of political democracy is but a makeshift at best. Our democratic institutions are only the tools which we use in our endeavor to express the spirit of democracy. They are tools which may be used for good or ill. Savonarola declared that there never was a parliament of Florence called but for the purpose of depriving the people of their liberties. The people summoned by the great bell to the plaza listened to the impassioned words of the demagogues and then proceeded in their ignorance to vote away their liberties. The modern bell is the public press. The bell ringers are the propagandists. The bell is rung in season and out. The people are fairly dazed by the mighty sound. The very elect are deceived and are carried away in a tumult of passion. Until people know how to distinguish the true from the false they will always be in danger.

Liberty, right, justice, and patriotism are noble words. They are associated in the minds of people with great and heroic deeds. We know that in the name of the ideals for which they are symbols men have died in dungeons, on the scaffolds and on fields of battle. These ideals represent the imponderable, intangible things that go deep into our lives. Appeals to them call forth the noblest and best that is in man. When played upon by the skillful operator they awake men from sloth and send them forth to do and to die.

The modern bell calls the people from shop, farm and factory, from school and home. The assembled people hear that men of their own race, carriers of the civilization to a benighted people have been brutally murdered. Their noblest passions are appealed to. They are called to arms in defense of liberty, justice and country. They are challenged to give their most cherished possessions for the welfare of mankind. The appeal becomes louder and louder. A picture of the Christ is held before them. He died upon the cross and in his name men are urged to go forth to avenge their brethren.

In a perfect ecstacy of passion, a delirium of joy men resolve to give themselves to the noble cause. And yet they do not know what oil, copper, sugar, coal, iron and rubber mean. They are unaware that dollar diplomacy has a sinister meaning. To them the phrase "the flag follows trade" has a glorious sound. The workings of international finance and the community of interests among manufacturers of munitions of war are to them sealed books.

It is such facts as these that make the problem of the world's peace so difficult. So long as men are as they are,—incurably idealistic,—and are ignorant of the machinations of men who seek to exploit not only the resources of the world but also men and women they will be the prey of all who can gain their ears or eyes. Information and more information is what the world needs. Break down the artificial barriers that keep men apart, let men know, then we may hope to have peace.

This is no picture of the fancy that we have drawn. Today we have the confessions of journalists of every country that they debauched their peoples during the war and always in the name of great ideals. Some of these confessions would be ludicrous if they were not so tragic. Peoples believed them and fought one another in the name of democracy and country. During the invasion of Morocco, in 1911, the world was furnished with tale after tale of the sufferings of Europeans in that country. And after the affair was all over and the rape of Morocco was complete the same journalists that aroused the passions of all civilized peoples calmly told us how we had been fooled.

Today thousands of propagandists stand ready for hire to represent any interest or cause. "Wolves in sheep's clothing," they call on men to follow them in the name of all that is holiest and best. They play upon our fears and they arouse our deepest prejudices but always in the name of liberty and in defense of sacred ideals. They well know that if they should state their real aims they would fail and fail miserably of their purpose. They pay the highest possible tribute to the noble qualities of the human race.

So the problem of democracy and of civilization is one of knowledge. It is true that great masses of people are indifferent to the wrongs and sufferings of others. But no man who knows (unless his heart has been corrupted by his personal interests) is indifferent to sorrows of men and women. If we really knew, we would banish child labor over night. If we really knew, the drug traffic would cease at once. The trouble is that we do not know. Some do, it is true, but the great masses do not.

Slowly and silently the preparations for another great war are laid and when it comes men will be called upon not to fight for oil or copper or rubber or iron but for the great ideals for which men have always been willing to die.

Every student of democracy from DeTocqueville to Lord Bryce has recognized the danger that confronts people armed with the ballot but not equipped with knowledge. This is a matter which concerns not only the progressive and the radical but also the conservative. It concerns us all. If we can not have sources of information that are pure and incorruptible we need never expect in our day to establish peace in the world. A free press, yes, but a press that is not only free but also honest is essential to our very life. The hearts of men are right. There is love enough in the world to save us if that love can be connected with knowledge. We have passion but we must have sense. We have heat but we need more light. We must have peace in our minds as well as in our hearts.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Jottings

Taking private property without due process of law is called crime. Taking public property without due process of law is called high finance.—(A. W. W.)

The new Attorney-General is no radical. But he is an honest man, which is a relief after Harry Daugherty, and he is a liberal who believes in our American principles and safeguards of liberty, which is a relief after Mitchell Palmer. For the first time in a decade we have in the Department of Justice a man who may be counted upon to do justice, and not betray it. President Coolidge is to be unqualifiedly praised for this appointment.

The Bok Peace Prize campaign is ended. Seven million (7,000,000) ballots were distributed, and many more millions printed for use in newspapers. It is claimed that 40,000,000 people were reached. Yet only 610,558 ballots were voted, of which 534,177 were for and 76,381 against the Levermore plan. If this pleases the supporters of the plan, well and good. To us it is evident that Mr. Bok has spent a small fortune only to demonstrate afresh that the American people are not interested in the League of Nations and the World Court, and are immune to propaganda on their behalf.

Thirty-eight students at Northwestern University have covenanted with one another and with their God never to take part in war. The result of this simple declaration of fidelity to Christian principle reminds us of nothing so much as what took place in Jerusalem when a certain Jesus stated his faith to men.

Stinnes dead—and not a mourner anywhere! Was ever money-lust shown to be so pitiful? Ever the possession of money proved to be so empty?

A Congregational Council in Massachusetts did a fine thing the other day when it refused to recognize a sectarian group which had withdrawn from a "People's Union Church" which was the only Protestant church in the community. This is the right spirit!

J. H. H.

"New Wars for Old"*

What shall we do about war? There is no escaping this question for the man who takes his world citizenship at all seriously. War never had a juster cause than the Great War nor a more hideous result.

We have just begun to dare hope for a warless world. The futility of war has long been apparent but the rational reaction has been prevented by its prestige. Between wars we learn to identify God and country; our flag is the symbol of all virtue; histories play up the martial exploits of our great men. In 1917 we fought to make the world safe for democracy but when the smoke of the battle lifted we found that phrase to be the vapor of emotion and that we had fought to make our democracy safe in the world. Do you know why Germany fought? To make Germany safe in the world.

Fill museums with the tattered ensigns of past wars and histories with halos for our heroes; parade the mechanized humanity you train to kill; have them march in striking regalia to the tune of stirring music before the eyes of your children and in the next war the battle cry "for God and Country" will draw them again in noble ignorance to death. Is it to add beauty to the fire that the moth flies into the flame? Why is it we give our merry youth away for country and for God?

The histories of war are the histories of its glories. Suppose we teach the fact of its unspeakable shame, lower the military ideal and instruct the social conscience,—would not benefits as great as liabilities of war be easily ours? And why should we not? Put Mars at the foot of the class in art, education, religion, and press opinion for one generation and we shall find men turning as naturally to rational methods of settling disputes as now they turn to the brutal, irrational method of war. It is not as though human nature demanded war, for then it would come periodically without the inducements of pay, honor, booty, organization, propaganda, and the use of conscription. There is no reason why nations composed of individuals should display a more warlike disposition than the individuals who compose it.

All will agree that a war of aggression is unjustifiable. But even though we see war to be an inherited thing too costly, brutal and inefficient, many will insist that at times it is indispensable for real defense and protection of the weak.

*Delivered as Commencement Address at Brown University, June, 1923.

We take up this problem from a Christian angle, not that we may be divided theologically, but that we may have a point for departure and reference.

We believe in God—as Father—and in ourselves as God's by as much as we are brothers. We cannot know all of God, but, if there is a God we can know all He demands of us. And for the willing mind nothing is easier to see. The past cries it out to me from Confucius, Socrates, Hillel, and Christ,—"Do unto others as ye would that they do unto you," live as it would be well for all to live. Reason affirms it, for how else is the greatest happiness for man attainable? And my heart commends the conclusion, for joy and repose worthy of the name come only in yielding to the intuition of love which demands obedience to this law.

However else we may look upon Jesus, He is God's method of being a social creature and the Christians' task is not merely to prevent the commission of evil, but to create Christ-like persons, God-like persons, for God is like Him. So shall a kingdom of God be wrought in the earth. With this aim the Christian method is consistent. He was among us as one that serveth. As an elder brother He went about doing good. He prayed for them that despitefully used Him, and in one day forgave seventy times seven times. He would not risk evil but He risked all for love—and died. We gird ourselves with a sword. He girded himself with a towel. We thrust with a blade of steel. He wielded the sword of the spirit.

One man wrongs another, they resort to blows. Inasmuch as they fight from passion or desire for revenge they equalize offenses and deserve what they get. Inasmuch as the aggrieved resists to maintain a right or virtue he is justified so long as his method does not contradict or annul his right. Every method implies a principle, every principle a method. How then to reach moral ends can he adopt the method of an unscrupulous foe? Does he not risk his very principle and value? If he should be beaten, what has he proved? And if he should win, has he proved more? Admitting the justice of settling quarrels by violence is he not bound to call the result, whatever it may be, JUST?

Moral ends require moral means.

We must defend the weak. We must protect society against the violent, but HOW? Our task is not to find a defensive method that will never fail—that cannot be done—but to find one that is most Christian, the one that in the long run will be most effective. From this standpoint how could one make a defense involving injury which he would be unwilling to accept for himself were he in the position of the weak? We grant the uncertainty of the future, for no one can predict two generations ahead; is it then wise to choose a method of selfishness to defend the spirit of love instead of the method of consistency? Principles have no vindication except identity between profession and practice. Nothing can justify them but their fruits and nothing so adequately defend them.

Is it said that justice may be found in war? Where will you find it?

War has its inception in greed and hate. "He who would defend war must defend the disposition that leads to war." It may come to preserve peace but it breeds more hatred among the foes. The very peace it brings is spurious,—a peace made by the tyranny of compulsion or exhaustion. It may come to insure freedom but it Prusslanizes the state. Army discipline inverts social values, mechanizes the will, perjures the conscience. Officers are little gods, their commands final. The individual conscience must be suppressed. "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die." Whatever the cause, good or bad, whatever the result, the soldier must resign himself, body and soul, to a man. It may come to assert a truth, but it tries to win by forgery, lies, espionage, treachery, mutilation, drowning, starvation. It may come to protect the weak, but it stays to oppress the conquered. It may come to exact payment due and take a pound of flesh for a parcel of coal. The blindness and intolerance of war are proverbial. We need years of perspective to judge it. How then can its immediate exactions ever be right? It may come in the spirit of love to chastise, but it ends in the fury of primitive passion. In action an army is frenzied, furious, indiscriminate in attack, a mob, and passionate, resigning reason for the primitive instincts common to all. Where else in the world will you find chastisement by injury? Who ever killed in charity or in love dealt his neighbor a bayonet thrust?

And what has war accomplished? It has built empires and destroyed them. The end of every path of imperial glory is defeat.

In the laboratory of world history it has been surely proved that "they that take the sword perish by the sword." (Why is it that we cannot learn?) Poland is divided and Poland divides. Europe divides Africa and Africa divides Europe. The world divides China and China divides the rest of the world. We break and are broken, light fires and are consumed, dig trenches and fill them. This is the kindness sent from God to the conscienceless state.

War never settled anything but it never fails to upset everything. Our ethics go by the board until we become skeptical even of ourselves. Then comes that aftermath of disregard for other people's rights, the virtues of honesty and purity, and the value of human life.

In war the press surrenders its virtues to propaganda, poisoning minds with insinuations, giving false hopes by false estimations, multiplying our hatreds by accounts of atrocities that never occurred or could be matched within our own lines. And religion, the possible source of reconciliation, likewise yields to the insanity of war. Back we rush for inspiration, for justification and for incentive to examples from a savage civilization and a tribal deity of nomad Israelites, fighting their battles and Samuel hewing Agag in pieces. We who profess the religion of Christ must turn casuist to defend ourselves before non-Christian peoples to whom actions speak louder than words.

We should be long in cataloging the list of accomplishments of war. The flower of the nation is picked before it blooms. The strongest shoulders to bear the weight of government and the wisest heads to direct her future course are sacrificed while the fittest to die survive. What a price in pain we pay for the futile use of war! And who can measure the sorrow, grief and fear that follow like a tidal wave?

I sing a song of the great clean guns that belch forth at will.
Ah, but the wailing mothers, the lifeless forms and still!

I sing the song of the billowy flags, the bugles that cry before.
Ah, but the skeletons flapping rags, the lips that speak no more.

I sing the clash of bayonets and sabres that flash and cleave.
And wilt thou sing the maimed ones too that go with pinned up sleeve?

I sing acclaimed generals that bring the victory home.
Ah, but the broken bodies that drip like honey-comb.

I sing of hearts triumphant, long ranks of marching men.
And wilt thou sing of the shadowy host that never march again?

War stands condemned for its origin, method, demands upon conscience, and result. War is crime, offensive or defensive. Being only a method we therefore feel obliged to reject it. And yet we must deal with the problems that give rise to war. Is there no other way?

This is our faith—that it is well always to live as it would be well for all to live. The way of love is the way of humanity we were meant to achieve,—love and forgiveness, no retaliation, nor injuries, nor coercion, but good works and vicarious bearing of the ills that cannot be avoided. We are a society but made up of individuals. Before we achieve harmony without we must achieve harmony within. "My country, right or wrong, my country," but not my country's wrongs mine. Only as we are insistent and consistent here can we leave an increment of value or good example to those to whom we pass the torch of life. Those who follow the better way cannot expect to control today but they may expect by perseverance to increase. The world is ever intolerant of a new way, but only while it is new. If it is a good way it is a privilege to live, yes to die, for it. Come what obloquy there may; let me be justified before God and the race unborn, and I shall not quail before the judgments of your courts, the penalties of your laws, the scourgings of public opinion.

Non-participation in war, the insistence on a personal realization of social righteousness, the propagation of the idea, is that all we can do? As we grow there will be organization. Why not ally ourselves with the peace organizations which already exist? There is education. The greatest prophylactic against the folly of war is to study its causes and to see how it serves the needs of the masses ignorant of history, diplomacy and the real intentions of their rulers. Does this seems quietistic, and peace an easy path? "Do you fancy peace is not the action of all actions? Day by day you must wrest it from the mouths of liars and from the hearts of men. You must stand alone against the multitude; for the clamor is always on the side of many and the liar has ever the first word. The meek must be strong and those who desire peace are ever at war."

Impractical, do you say? Unpractised, yes. But what is more impractical than the practised? Where would we be without war? In God's name where are we with war? We do not have peace because we do not want peace. Cultivate the disposition to peace and convictions suitable to the action and you will have peace.

We have traveled all the weary miles from the brute with a sword clanking at our heels, cutting short our steps of progress. Let us cast it aside and with the weapon of our spirits claim the world that lies before us.

T. Barton Akeley.

Brent Allinson and the Legion

[What happened at Evanston, Illinois, when Brent Dow Allinson was invited to speak in a local church on "The Youth Movement," which he studied at first-hand in Europe for a period of two years, has been broadcasted throughout the nation with the usual sensationalism of the American press. The episode deserved the widest publicity, for it is one of the most significant things that has happened in recent years. But it also deserved accurate and not sensational reporting, and that is just what it has not been given.

Feeling that the affair was one which very particularly challenged the attention of Unity's readers, we asked Mr. Allinson to give us his own story, with such accompanying data as he could send us. He has kindly provided the following—(1) a personal letter presenting his account of what happened; (2) a letter (unpublished) to the Chicago *Tribune*; (3) his speech on "The Youth Movement," valuable in itself quite apart from the circumstances attending its delivery.

We present these to our readers as constituting the first complete and authentic account which has anywhere appeared of this amazingly significant event.—J. H. H.]

I.

April 11th, '24.

My dear Dr. Holmes:

Pray accept my apology for not answering your request for information and an article sooner. This affair took us so by storm and the response to it has been so onrushing that I have been extricating myself from it only by degrees and my correspondence has suffered.

The news was all much distorted, and I have no confidence that you heard it accurately. I was invited to speak to the Epworth League at the First Methodist Church of Evanston (Dr. E. F. Tittle's church) which, unknown to me at the time, is quite the most prosperous and elegant church in that prosperous and elegant—and self-satisfied—village. The Legion post heard of it and, incited by premature publicity in the Chicago *Tribune*, determined to exhibit a paroxysm of righteous indignation and, if possible, to prevent the meeting. It conspired all the previous Sunday afternoon as to how best to achieve this worthy end and obtained a letter from "Colonel" Dean John Wigmore of Northwestern University Law School (author of the draft act), protesting against my appearance in Evanston and abusing me, both untruthfully and nastily. Armed with this document the Legionnaires (25 or 30 of them) bore down on the meeting. Dr. Tittle, much surprised, read the Wigmore letter to the audience and put the decision up to them. They voted, nevertheless, 117 to 9 to hear me, in spite of Dean Wigmore's charges of disloyalty and pro-Germanism. Unaware of this letter (I didn't hear about it or read it until a day or two after the meeting) I arrived at the church and entered the hall at the conclusion of the plebiscite! I made a talk which was virtually uninterrupted, and answered questions for half an hour. Some of the questioners, notably an army intelligence officer, were very disagreeable—even insulting. But I ignored that and, after considerable applause, left the hall, at the conclusion of the benediction, pronounced by Dr. Tittle. His words "may the Lord bless you and give you peace!" were hardly out of his mouth before a Legionnaire with a red, rotund face, mostly jowl, moved towards the platform, calling out to the audience to remain seated to listen to "a talk on Americanism"! Gaining the platform he called for some flags, and other Legionnaires, apparently by pre-arrangement, produced them. He (the captain and ex-Sunday school teacher) then launched into a rather absurd Fourth of July oration. There was some hissing and a good deal of laughter, directed, of course, at him, not at the flag. Then, at the instance of the irate captain, everybody sang "My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty"!—and went home. I was in another room all this time, talking to students. . . . That was all there was to it. The newspapers have been volleying and thundering with preposterous exaggeration and mendacity for ten days!

Truthful accounts of the affair have appeared only in the *Christian Century*, whose editorials have also been exemplary. Tittle was swept off his feet for a time by the ferocity of the onslaught. His resignation was, at first, demanded—for permitting me to speak! Everybody forgot, of course, what I said—and there was no report of *it* anywhere! The whole affair would be positively ridiculous if it did not reveal, as it does, the furnace of blind ferocity that smoulders just under the skin of even a "polite" American community. . . . I demanded redress from Tittle in a courteous letter—and an examination of the *facts* and the *evidence*—and a committee of ministers has been appointed to go into the matter. I hope, of

course, that they will issue a statement that will compel Wigmore to retract. We shall see what we shall see.

In the meantime our Youth Movement has gained enormous impetus. We've taken an office down-town and are creating a central committee of young people from different denominations and professions. We expect to hold frequent meetings and to issue literature. The churches, notably Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, are resolving and "scrapping" over the war issue. A big conference (600-700 students) of Methodists from the South and North is meeting in Louisville, Ky., Easter Sunday. I expect to go down.

A committee of students at Northwestern is publishing a pamphlet, for distribution throughout the university community, containing reprints from the *Christian Century* and the full text of my talk. It may be what you want. Also a copy of a letter I have written the *Tribune*—which they have not published. You may use either or both of these, as you see fit.

Cordially your friend,
BRENT ALLINSON.

II.

March 30th, 1924.

To the Voice of the People,
The Chicago *Tribune*.
Sir:

Inasmuch as, by unexcelled distortion and scurrility, you have given the impression to those who regard your columns as a reliable source of public information that the meeting held in the First Methodist Church of Evanston, last Sunday evening, was a pacifist demonstration against the United States and a premeditated derision of its authority and emblem, perhaps, for patriotic reason, you will permit me to repudiate that construction, as utterly false and malicious, and to affirm what were the facts.

The Evanston Post of the American Legion, incited apparently by outsiders and by unwarranted and premature publicity, conspired to prevent or, failing that, to embarrass and discredit, or disperse, a regular meeting of the Epworth League, —a meeting of a distinctly religious character held in a church for the purpose of discussing one of the most important subjects in the world,—the reaction of European youth to war, the continuing war system and the war-menaced world. An elderly gentleman named Wigmore, having no connection or legitimate concern with the meeting, or the organization that held it, or the church in which it was held, wrote an untruthful and derogatory letter concerning myself, whom he has never met, and about whom he evidently knows little, in a gratuitous effort to aid and abet the American Legion in its provocative and discreditable conduct.

The good sense of most of the members of the Legion, who had come to the meeting to scoff, restrained them from any inept conduct or interruption of the addresses. At the conclusion of the meeting there occurred some confusion and disturbance precipitated by two or three apparently ill-humored and misguided individuals who seemed to regard it as their duty or their privilege to shout and sing to the accompaniment of an American flag, in a disorderly way, in the faces of the departing audience. The audience, quite naturally, laughed at them and after listening to a few moments of hypertrophied oratory, as exaggerated as it was out of place, abandoned the hall quietly. That is the whole story in 240 words. The newspapers have consumed columns of valuable space during five successive days to tell it. For what purpose?

There are some things which an adult American, as distinguished from "callow and immature egotists," takes for granted, and one of them is a rational and moderate sense of patriotism and loyalty to the country of his birth. His loyalty is not identified with any promiscuous fighting spirit or obligation. He seeks to serve the highest interests of his country by harmonizing its spirit and its conduct with the life of the world. He seeks to make the name America mean something more than jingoism and military and economic aggressiveness. As for the contents of the addresses, delivered on the occasion of the Evanston meeting, they may be read in full in forthcoming numbers of the *Student Challenge*, obtainable at Brentano's and other bookstores.

BRENT DOW ALLINSON.

III.

Ladies and gentlemen: I regret that the legionnaires have left. But I hope the humor of the situation does not escape the audience. . . . The war for democracy has certainly been fought in vain if we cannot meet together in a church, of a Sunday evening, for a quiet discussion of the most important subject before the world. We feel also that if those who constitute themselves the sole interpreters of Americanism would not run away from us we might convert them to another conception of Americanism and of the world. (Laughter.)

(At this point occurred the sole interruption of the entire address, which lasted about forty-five minutes, occasioned by the shouting of two or three legion members from the back of the hall: "There are still a few of us here!" to which Mr. Allinson replied, "Good! Good!" He then continued as follows:)

The greatest human slaughter in history came to a sudden halt in November, 1918. It was a war, so many millions of young men believed, especially in the United States, to end war. It failed to achieve this purpose, or anything like this purpose, in the opinion of almost everyone today. There were those who had always believed that it was doomed to failure,—utter moral failure,—because any such conception was a fundamental miscalculation of the facts and forces which really caused it, and because war was—and is—an instrument which could not possibly be used successfully to any such exalted end.

If these statements be true,—if the war ended in moral defeat and disaster, and if it was the purpose, the sincere purpose of the majority of Americans who fought it, to make it serve the end of the extermination of war, then, certainly, in view of its failure and of the alarming condition of the world today, in which war is as menacing as it was in 1914, it is the high duty of all of us, whatever we may have thought about the causes and conduct of the last great war, to carry on together, to finish the work that the war and the peace left unfinished, to go forward determined to find a path which we can tread together, a path of service to America and the world, which will lead us as directly as possible to the consummation of the supreme ideal of youth—the final extermination of war. It ought to be the desire of the Legion to co-operate with us—and we appeal to it earnestly to co-operate—in this great undertaking.

EUROPE'S DEVASTATION

Most people in the United States have no conception of what the war did to the world, of what disaster it brought to Europe and to the soul of Europe. We lived, and still live, on the outer edge of that overwhelming disaster. I cannot paint it for you. But, with your permission, I should like to read to you a few words from the pen of the distinguished Italian historian, Sig. Guglielmo Ferrero, who answers the question why he had deserted the quiet of his study to be present in Rome at the public ceremony at which Archbishops Hayes and Mundelein were "invested with the purple." He says:

I am here because a tragic struggle is being enacted in Europe today between unarmed wisdom and delirious force, and the purple, which the ancients called the color *"imperii proprius,"* should be in our times the color proper to unarmed wisdom.

I believe that is the color of Northwestern University. (Laughter.)

"Western civilization," continues Signor Ferrero, "wounded itself mortally ten years ago with the weapons it had prepared to subjugate to its dominion the entire earth. The wound has gangrened, like to that of Philoctetes, and has aroused in the soul of civilization a dreadful delirium—the delirium of the force which, even at the risk of suicide, refuses to recognize any longer any principle of union such as of love and justice between men, and that admires, exalts and encourages subjuga-

tion by despotism, revolution and conquest as the sole and worthy reason for living. Against this delirium are the protests of that ancient and ever vigilant wisdom which is the hidden treasure owned by western civilization—the inestimable heirloom bequeathed by our ancestors. This wisdom protests with the voice of some writers, of some philosophers, of some political schools, and of all—or nearly all—the Christian churches. But wisdom is unarmed and force owns the weapons —the cash, the law and the states. Hence the ceremony that will be celebrated in a few days in the most magnificent basilica of the universe under the light that rains down from one of the grandest creations of human . . ." etc.

Now, of course, the pontifical celebration in Rome may not have any such significance. That is a matter of opinion. The statement of Signor Ferrero is what is important. It is an eloquent statement. It describes far better than I can describe what has happened in Europe, and what terrific forces are at work there. The impact of those forces is shaking the world and it is our duty to seek to understand them. The suffering and searching and despair have gone further and cut deeper into the minds and hearts of the people of Central Europe than any other—save, perhaps, Russia. The Germans lost more than two million dead in the war. They were surrounded by a wall of iron and creeping intrigue, and they were bitten by hunger and deprivation and the menace of actual starvation for years. At the end, they surrendered on the terms of the President, which they took earnestly to heart and believed in,—and were compelled to sign a treaty of peace,—a treaty of unparalleled vindictiveness and ferocity—which they believed betrayed all of those terms. They were compelled to sign it by the threat of continued starvation.

Germany's Extremity

It is a matter of great interest in this connection that a letter has recently been discovered in Berlin, in the archives, from President Thiers, first president of the Third French Republic,—the present republic,—addressed to the German military governor of Paris, after the capitulation of that city to the German army in 1871, in which President Thiers thanked the German commander, on behalf of the people of Paris and the government of France for what is called in German *"die ausserordentliche milde Besatzung,"* the extraordinarily lenient occupation! The facts are that, immediately after the capitulation of Paris and the entrance of the German army, the starving city was provisioned with food-stuffs—a task in which the then American minister to France, Mr. Washburne actively co-operated. But, at the end of the world war, with the triumph of Democracy and Civilization, the people of Germany were not provisioned with food. They were a starving people but a great army of occupation was inflicted upon them, at their expense, and the hunger-blockade was continued during the long months of preparation of the Treaty of Versailles. It was not until after the signature of that perfidious document, the end of June, 1919, that the hunger blockade was raised by the allies, and American and English philanthropic agencies were permitted to enter Germany with relief.

I was one of thirty or forty Americans selected by the American Friends (Quakers) to share the privilege of participating in the conduct of their child feeding work in Germany after the war. In the course of that work, which took us all over Central Europe, we met the plain people, and gained an insight into their minds and hearts. We learned to know their sufferings and to understand them because we were co-operating with them, and they with us, in the daily task of bringing a supplementary meal to nearly a million undernourished children. We realized what storms of emotion, and hope, and despair they had lived through. We learned to appreciate what it meant (in human psychology) to drift into defeat and disaster, to see the great structure of government collapse, and society plunged into confusion, as they had seen it. There had been bloody rioting in the streets, and the ardors and passions of revolutionary movements and aspirations. Then followed exhaustion, a sense of helplessness and despair, the loss of confidence in everything, and particularly in all the old leaders and ideals, and in the goodness or value of life itself. There were suicides,—many of them. There was chaos and the loss of all confidence in the future. There was blind and beaten groping for some clue to a way out. There was distress like that of children wandering in a darkened maze.

Armed State and Armed Church

With the collapse of the armed state, and the flight of the Kaiser (it was his flight, not his defeat, which the German people could not forgive), there occurred also the collapse of the armed church—especially the Protestant, the Lutheran church. The reason for this was primarily the close identification of the Protestant church with the nationalist state. In England the king is the nominal head of the Anglican church. In Germany the Kaiser was the nominal head of the Lutheran church and the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns, its preservation and magnification, was conspicuous in the liturgy and reverberated through the ritual. *"Gott mit uns!"* had been the resounding slogan. Righteousness and the Deity had been identified with the exalted military aims of the armed state. With the collapse of the state, the church, naturally, fell. The Catholic church alone, officially, seemed to have had the wisdom and the statesmanship to remain somewhat neutral, somewhat apart, a consoler and comforter in sorrow. The efforts of the late Pope to bring about a peace of compromise, a negotiated peace,—his appeal, vain as it was, to President Wilson, was of enormous significance. It is one of the reasons why the Catholic church has made such gains in Europe, in the numbers of its communicants. It alone provided, or seemed to provide a rock to which to cling. In the Lutheran churches the great black crosses of the state were to be seen—crosses laid in mosaic on the walls and comprising the names of the soldiers fallen in battle for the Fatherland, or composed of nails driven into the walls —nails purchased by sacrifice of either men or money to the state. The flags of the armed state had been conspicuous in the Lutheran church. With the collapse of the state and the despair into which the German world sank, all of this became sickening—especially to youth—and there occurred a deep revolt against it. It is about that revolt of youth which I have been invited to speak tonight.

It began even before the war. It began as a revolt against the over-regimentation of life. Everything was foreordained, by authority, by the old for the young. The school, the church, the profession and the army,—all followed one another with inflexible rigidity. It has been said that a baby at birth was given a number, a number corresponding to a coffin, which was prepared and ready for it when it should die. That is an exaggeration, but it expresses the spirit which prevailed in many quarters,—and not only in Germany—a spirit of over-preparedness, over-organization. Youth

here and there, in little groups at first, felt wronged at all this. It wanted to assert its own personality, its own freedom of development, and it could not do it. It was not strong enough to resist. Therefore, it ran away. Literally. The youth movement, at first and last, was a kind of glorified truancy against the excessive assertions of authority on the part of its elders and especially on the part of state and church. It wanted to find a new way of life, a new, and more desirable way of living. It wanted to create its own life and its own world.

Beginnings of Youth Movement

It began quietly. It wandered out into the country and learned to know and to love the beauty of it. It found music, old folk-songs, rippling among the peasants at their work, songs which had been all but forgotten by the stuffy urban multitudes. It felt the thrill of these songs, learned them, revised them, published them. It founded colonies, especially summer colonies, and stores, especially bookstores, and handicraft shops, for the sale of its own creation. It grew in numbers while the state and its parents were either unaware of what was going on,—or were calling it hard names and trying to prevent what they looked upon as immorality and sedition. It became a great force with many newspapers of its own, many centers of new life. It even adopted a characteristic dress of its own. . . . Then came the war.

Youth was filled with generous emotion. It was not cynical. It did not pause to analyze the war. It felt the glamor and the appeal of sacrifice for the defense of the Fatherland, which it had learned to love in a new way. It hated the army, but it was told that the country was threatened with destruction by enemies "lusting its downfall" and, like youth everywhere else, it was credulous. It believed the current lies and tolerated the exalted liars. It went to war. . . . It was slaughtered, mercilessly. Many of these young people were pushed up to the front immediately—partly, they have told me, because the state feared them and wanted to get rid of them. The Armed State stopped at nothing—everywhere. . . . German youth came home from that war decimated and disillusioned. Many of the youth groups about Berlin left fifty per cent, some as high as eighty per cent of their members dead in the fields and hospitals of the great war. When the end came, it felt that it had been outraged and trampled into the dust by Cæsar's chariot. And then something swift and terrible happened. There came a new revolt; a revolt of the spirit.

Never Again

The men swarming back from the front swore a mighty oath of "Never again!"—*"Nie wieder Krieg!"* They organized enormous demonstrations, especially on the 31st of each succeeding July, as the anniversaries of the declarations of war in Europe came around. They endeavored to make that day a day of international humiliation, and dedication to the cause of peace. On every July 31st in Berlin, the courts of the old Kaiser's palace and the *Lustgarten* surrounding it, have been filled by tens of thousands of people, mostly men, mostly young men, listening to addresses and exhortations, not against France, but against war. These men organized a league. They organized many leagues. They called themselves, literally, "War service opponents" (*Kriegsdienstgegner*). They vowed that they would never again participate in war of any kind. The movement spread. It spread beyond national frontiers, to England, even to France. In England it is called the "No More War Movement" and it has elected at least five representatives—five men who were imprisoned for their opposition to war,—to Parliament, on the Labor Party ticket. It has founded an Internationale of Youth, with a bulletin printed in English, German and French.

[Mr. Allinson then read three manifestoes of the English, German and French sections of the "Youth Movement" of Europe and the "War-resisters' Internationale," of which the following, from the French, is typical.]

> What is the worth of civilization if one is not assured of the one benefit—Life—without which all other benefits are nothing? We call upon the victims of war to unite to say "No!" to the appeals of the war-makers and then inaugurate a new age which is demanded by the cry of agony which rises from our soldiers assassinated by militarism. Human violence depends upon the human will. Man has conquered space, the waters, the air, taming the unchained elements. He has accomplished this by intelligence and will. Will man yet not dominate his own fury? To deliver the creative, human intelligence to centuries more of brute-force, to subjugate mind to brute-force, is to go back to the law of the animals. . . . Our duty is to disarm privilege by a universal strike against soldiering, using all our energy to diminish sanguinary violence and to prepare the New Age of Humanity.

The English Manifesto contains the following:

> Statesmen who live in the world of yesterday may say that "the world offers glittering prizes to those who have stout hearts and sharp swords." We say it is time that the stout hearts of youth refused to wield sharp swords to win glittering prizes for statesmen and financiers. We seek not glittering prizes for a privileged few but a golden opportunity of life for all. Conferences have been held on the continent at which thousands of young people from different lands have gathered together animated by that enthusiasm which nothing can curb. . . . Brothers and sisters of England, shall we lag behind?

This great youth movement of Europe is the most important thing in the world today. Everybody else in Europe is stewing in the deadly juice of fear and hate. Enormous preparations are being made for war. The Fascisti in Italy are creating a huge air-fleet, and talking about re-creating the Roman Empire and making the Mediterranean an Italian lake. The French are arming a million Senegalese in Africa, deliberately intending to import these Negro mercenaries into Europe when the expected occasion shall arise. The British imperialists still at their old, poisonous game of intrigue, are now seriously planning to finance the Germans in a war of revenge against France, and to cheer them on, from behind the Channel. Even the United States is making elaborate preparations for war, in the re-organization of its army, its military training camps, and in planning to conscript the industries of the country for the manufacture of munitions of war, in the space of a few days. Only the Youth Movement, like a wingèd Phœnix rising from the ashes of the world war, is crying "NO!—Forever NO! . . . We will not fight again!" That movement has nothing whatever to do with Russian Bolshevism. Its spirit is as far removed from and opposed to any cult of violence and dictatorship from the left, as it is from the cult of the armed state. So far as I can see, it is the only thing that can save the world. It *can* do it by an affirmation of its courageous and creative will to peace. The politicians cannot do it. They have no constructive thoughts in their heads. They have no plans, save war plans.

President Wilson once used a great phrase: "We shall fight," he said, "for the right of men everywhere to choose their own way of life and of obedience." That is the ideal to which the Youth Movement would give reality.

Will American youth hear the deep cry from abroad and respond? Will it awaken the United States of America and bring it to its senses—bring it into harmony with the music reverberating in the hearts of European youth assassinated by war and surrounded by these foul conspiracies of governments? God grant it!

A Travesty of the Christian Faith

(By an Indian Correspondent.)

Mr. C. F. Andrews, preaching in the Darish Church, Broadway, Madras, on a recent date, took as his text the words of Christ: "All ye are brethren . . . One is your Father, which is in heaven."

He stated that Jesus of Nazareth, who uttered these words, was born in Asia. His life was one long sacrifice to destroy racialism and build up a universal brotherhood. It was because he could not accept the Pharisees' narrow racial creed that they plotted against him and put him to death by crucifixion. St. Paul was at one time a Pharisee, racially narrow and exclusive. But when he became a Christian he threw all this away. He used a very strong phrase about it. He said: "I counted all this as dung, that I might win Christ." It was St. Paul who declared in Christ's name the universal truth: "In Christ there *cannot* be either Jew or Greek, Scythian, barbarian, bond or free, but all are one man in Christ Jesus." There *cannot* be racialism, he said. It is impossible, if a man is a Christian. St. Paul died for this universal faith, just as Christ died for it. Thousands, nay hundreds of thousands, followed their examples. The African slave was on the same level as the proud Roman, the exclusive Jew, the cultured Greek. At Christian worship, each gave to the other the "kiss of peace." In Christ, they were, as St. Paul said, one man. No one could be a Christian, then, on any other terms.

But now, in modern times, a truly hideous portent has appeared. There are now in the West, "black" churches and "white" churches. No African enters a "white" church, and vice versa. In South Africa, the Grondwet has ruled, "There shall be no equality between white and black in Church and State." In Natal this racial segregation is common. In the United States, in Texas and other places, racial segregation is strictly practiced by Christians.

Furthermore, in Africa, the same segregation is practiced against the Asiatics. When I was in Durban in 1913, Mahatma Gandhi came to hear me preach. He was turned out of Church because he was an Asiatic. If Christ had gone to that Church, he also would have been turned out, because he was an Asiatic. In Cape Town, where race prejudice is not so bad, I tried to get Mahatma Gandhi's second son, Manilal, into a church. This church actually subscribed for Indian Christian Missions, and I thought that there could be no color bar there. But I could only get permission for him to sit in the last seat next to the door. I went to a Cathedral church at Maritzburg, Natal, and told all the Indian Christians of the place, who numbered about two hundred, to come with me to the church. They said, "We cannot go there. The European Christians will not allow us." I found that there was only one single seat at the very back of the Cathedral next to the door, which might have held eight or ten, where they were allowed to sit on sufferance. All the rest of the Cathedral, which was more than half empty, was kept for the Europeans. If Christ had come to that Cathedral, he could only have sat in that one seat next to the door. I had been warned by Mr. Gokhale, before I went out to Africa, that what I saw would be a great blow to my Christianity. It was.

I could go on giving instances like this. What words can I use in this pulpit strong enough to repudiate it? Let me say one thing. This is not Christianity. Christ did not die for this! St. Paul, and a hundred thousand others, did not suffer martyrdom in Christ's name for this! These persons, who are thus racially arrogant, could have crucified Christ and made St. Paul a martyr over again. But they could never have accepted such a levelling religion as Christ and Paul preached and practiced. They could never allow that. "In Christ there is no color bar at all, but all are one man in Christ Jesus."

Here, in India, caste has been condemned and rightly condemned for its racial arrogance. I have said in this pulpit the strongest things that could be said against "Untouchability." But is it not realized that there is a new caste system springing up in the West, a thousand times more terrible in its effects than the caste system of old? Is it not clear today that there is a caste system of "white Australia," "white Canada," "white South Africa," which is arrogating to itself vast areas of the earth's surface, and is saying that not a single man of Asia shall reside there?

I have just come back from London, where we have been engaged, week after week, on what is called the Kenya question. But I have come back to state, that there is only one question at all involved—the question of the color bar. In 1919, when the Legislative Council in Kenya was established, one of the liberal Europeans got up and asked that only Indians who had obtained a university degree should be admitted to the franchise. But even this was refused. It was refused on racial grounds. And therefore this morning I have taken the opportunity to protest against this un-Christian thing—the color bar within the Christian Church. For these very persons in East Africa have declared openly, that they have done this thing in order to save Kenya for Christian civilization. No words could be too strong to condemn such a travesty of the Christian faith, and I repudiate it in Christ's name.

CORRESPONDENCE

INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA

The release of Mahatma Gandhi from prison by the newly appointed Labor Premier of England points to a new order in the political universe. The British Government in India has found itself powerless in the face of a spiritual force which has cast out fear, and against which machine-guns, armored tanks and poison gas fall harmless.

Under these circumstances is it not unthinkable that India should accept as a gift the means of a slow development in self-government such as England is trying to force upon her? Will she not rather rise in her strength and demand immediate recognition and the justice which is so long due?

Nineteen hundred and twenty-six will mark the one-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence. What a coincidence it would be if the same year were to see a similar Declaration from India! A Declaration, however, not to be followed as was ours, by armed alliances and protracted campaigns where armies and navies contended with one another (though it must be admitted, in a way that should be called chivalrous, at least on the part of France and America, as compared with modern warfare); but by the method of *Satyagraha* as preached by the great Mahatmaji, "Soul-force or Truth-force" acting from within, through "self-purification and self-suffering" bringing about that separation which will leave India mistress of her own destiny.

This spectacle of non-violent self-determination is one for which the world waits. It is one that India alone can give to the world. For she alone, in her inmost soul, has always sought spiritual rather than material power. It is India's special contribution to world civilization and it comes at a providential moment. The West, overshadowed by the darkness of materialism, trembling on the verge of annihilation through satanic devices of universal destruction, turns instinctively towards the East where the day begins to dawn, and beholds India under the spiritual leadership of her great Mahatmaji, preparing the way for the new era of a spiritualized and universal civilization.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 8, 1924. ELIZABETH F. S. KITE.

OBEYING THE LAWS

Editor of UNITY:

A few weeks ago the Boston *Herald* paid fitting tribute to the memory of Thomas Wentworth Higginson on the centenary of his birth. The brief sketch of his noble career did not fail to bring out the fact of his light-hearted defiance of law and authority at the impulse of his own humanity and the bidding of his own conscience. "The Burns riot cost him a scar which he carried the rest of his life. . . . He forwarded many a slave on the underground route to freedom. . . . He actually began to plot for the deliverance of John Brown from the federal authorities."

Higginson's gallant lawlessness points a lesson for today, a lesson that is needed even in Boston. At a recent Sunday afternoon "forum" in the Old South Church, the speaker declared that those New Englanders who repudiated and violated the fugitive slave law did wrong. One might have thought that the very building would have inspired cries of "No! No!" from the audience. But the speaker "got away with it." No indignation was manifested by his hearers. To such a depth of abject authority-worship have we fallen!

At the present time much is said of the duty of obedience to law just because it is law. The well-meaning temperance folk who are grieved that the effort to make people sober by law is not more successful are calling for loyalty to the constitution. The privileged class is afraid that Bolshevism will spread and seeks to teach submission to lawful authority as the supreme duty. During the war government-worship, under the name of patriotism, became the popular religion, to the exclusion of Christianity, and quite appropriately flags were set up in the churches.

The duty of civil disobedience on occasion needs emphasis. It is a duty that one of Christ's apostles stated thus: "We ought to obey God rather than man." Said Emerson: "Every actual state is corrupt. Good men must not obey the laws too well." National governments are responsible for immeasurable human woe. Whether credit is due them which overbalances the debit side, whether existing national governments are, on the whole, a blessing or a curse to humanity is a question that may be argued with great profit. Such a discussion might lead to the removal of national flags from the churches.

At the recent convention of "student volunteers" in Indianapolis, about 200 consecrated youths declared their "resolve not to sanction or participate directly in any future war." A rapidly increasing number of Christian ministers are taking the same position, affirming that "war is sin." Of course, the cry of "treason!" is raised. If it be treason, make the most of it. Said Theodore Parker: "I think lightly of what is called treason against a government. It may be your duty today, or mine. But treason against the people, against mankind, against God is a great sin and not lightly to be spoken of."

Brookline, Jan. 31. HENRY W. PINKHAM.

THE LABOR GOVERNMENT AND GANDHI

Editor of UNITY,

I was glad to read in the Feb. 21 issue of UNITY your very appropriate comment on the release of Mahatma Gandhi. You were right in crediting the Labor Government in England with another wise act. It can hardly be disputed that even though Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's attitude towards the movement inaugurated and led by Gandhi is none too sympathetic, the suggestion to release Mahatmaji would not have been an ordeal easy to take to the Baldwin-Curzon clique.

But that is not the whole story. The real cause of the step taken by the Government of India—the Government of Bombay in this case comes in only on account of the constitutional requirement that initiative must come from the local Government—however, is other than a desire to do justice. As you must have already gathered from the latest Indian papers to hand, the *Swarajist cum* Independent group of Indian members of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi had given notice of a motion for the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatmaji on the very first day that non-official business was to be allowed; and had decided to defeat the Government in case the Home Member opposed the motion. Now, the Government were fully aware that they could not very well keep Gandhi in prison much longer—a fact admitted even by some of the Anglo-Indian advocates of "iron-hand policy"—without, on the one hand, taking the terrible responsibility of his possible, nay probable, breakdown or demise, and, on the other, involving themselves in an entirely fruitless and ruinous controversy and tug-of-war with the newly elected legislatures all over the country with Delhi as the center. And, therefore, they urged on the Secretary of State for India the necessity of dealing with this matter of High Policy, as far as India is concerned, without the least possible delay, recommending at the same time that circumstances demanded his release if the Government of India is to be saved unlimited embarrassment. The Labor Government met and saw that expediency would be the wisest course at the present juncture, and decided to accept the recommendation of the India Government. This decision was announced, to quote the special correspondent of the New York *Times* in London, just in time to stall a debate on the question in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi.

It is a sad thing that even a Labor Government of England was actuated by motives of expediency, not of justice, in dealing with the saintliest man living and the leader of a cause as just as any in the world! Needless to say, such a state of affairs could not but grieve Mahatma Gandhi. In one of his very first utterances after release he expressed deep regret at having been set at liberty as an "act of grace" by the Government, and not as a "matter of justice" or "change of heart" on the part of his persecutors.

A Labor Government in England, Sir, may usher in a new era of happiness in that country, and of justice in Europe; but when India is concerned, there is never much difference between the dwellers of West End and Poplar. India cannot, and does not, expect a millennium at the hands of the pseudo-Imperialist laborites of Dacdonald type occupying seats at Westminster. India will receive a fair and equitable treatment by the Britishers only when she becomes strong enough to compel justice.

Yours very truly,

T. H. K. REZMIE.

P. S.—May I, while on the subject, take the liberty of pointing out a slight mistake made by the writer of the notes on India. The "Compromise" between Das-party and the No-changers re. the Councils was reached at the Special Sessions of the Congress held at Delhi in the September of 1923, and not "adopted at Delhi a year ago" as stated by you. T. R.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE WAR ON WAR

[We publish herewith two highly important documents in evidence of the steady march of the peace movement in the churches. If our readers hear of other resolutions of this kind, send them in, as we want to print them in this department.—J. H. H.]

(1) Resolution

adopted by the Pacific Coast Conference of Unitarian Churches, unanimously, at San Francisco, California, April 10, 1924.

Resolved, That we recognize the unparalleled danger to the institutions of free religion and free government in the threatening possibility of another world war, and that we therefore wish to place on record the following statement as our contribution to the widespread efforts now being made to render such a calamity forever impossible.

As to the duty of the American people, represented by their Government, we call for the utter repudiation and condemnation of war as a means of settling international disputes, to the end that the practice of warfare may be permanently outlawed among the nations. We ask our Government to take all possible steps towards this goal with characteristic American fearlessness and vision.

As to the duty of Unitarian churches, we rally them to the support of all genuine peace movements and urge them to add the full strength of their organizations to the increasing opposition to war.

As to the duty of individual Unitarians, we recognize that some among us believe that under certain unfortunate circumstances their support of war would be necessary, whereas others among us have firmly resolved that never again will they in any way participate in it. It is not within the province of this Conference to dictate the beliefs of any persons, but we do affirm that this question of one's personal attitude to war is a religious question, that all Unitarians should face it frankly, and that our churches and our Conference should respect and protect the conscientious convictions of our entire membership.

(2) A Memorial on War

Addressed by the Presbytery of Chicago, by a vote of 74 to 4, to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Grand Rapids, Michigan, May, 1924.

The Presbytery of Chicago respectfully memorialized the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., at its session in Grand Rapids to take cognizance of the present world situation with respect to warlike movements and preparations, and to make such declarations and take such steps as will represent the mind of the church against such courses and the entire war system.

The history of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. during the entire course of our national life bears testimony to its deep and abiding loyalty to the government at every hour of its need. Believing that America's entrance into the great war in response to a sincere desire for world peace, the Presbyterian Church gave its hearty co-operation to the government in the prosecution of the war, in the hope that by so doing it might help to deal a death-blow to the war system.

We rejoice that certain peoples were freed and certain military autocracies shattered by the Allied-American victory, and that two great agencies for peace, the League of Nations and the World Court, have since been set up and have begun careers of usefulness. But we lament that the war spirit is still powerful in the earth, and that new wars are even now in prospect; and, particularly, do we regret that our own country has not displayed a more determined and more generous leadership on behalf of world peace. We are proud of the heroism of our fighting men; we are determined that the full harvest of their sacrifices shall be garnered.

Therefore the Presbytery of Chicago respectfully petitions the General Assembly to issue a deliverance opposing the anti-Christian philosophy which imagines or pretends that war is inevitable; to declare it to be our deliberate judgment that the war system as a system is fundamentally opposed to the teachings and example of Jesus, and must be speedily abandoned if civilization is to escape collapse; to affirm our unalterable conviction that any and all international difficulties can be efficiently and permanently settled by conference and conciliation and, indeed, can be so settled in no

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A UNITARIAN CHURCH DECLARES AGAINST WAR.

Editor of UNITY:

Some weeks ago you published a ringing appeal from the Rev. Henry W. Pinkham, calling upon the Unitarians as a denomination to place themselves on record as opposed to war at all times and under all conditions, and to be armed with the privilege to protest when such disaster might befall. Mr. Pinkham is asking a good deal, and he, of course, knows it. Since such a lofty ambition as that which he has in mind seems to be unrealizable, how would it be to appeal to the individual churches to do something of the sort.

I confess that I had given this thing little thought in this particular form until my attention was called to the fact that the First Unitarian Church in Plainfield, New Jersey, at its annual meeting had unanimously passed a resolution bearing upon this matter. The resolution it seems originated from a group in the church and was carried through without any solicitation on the part of the minister, who in point of fact chanced to be absent from the meeting. The statement falls very far short of what would be most desirable, but it is not without significance. The statement follows:

"WHEREAS, we are convinced that war is irreconcilable with the teachings of Christ and

"WHEREAS, it seems certain that another world war would be fatal to all that is most valued in western civilization and

"WHEREAS, if we are to protest effectively against war, we must win the right to do so now in times of peace.

"Therefore, Be It Resolved, that we, the members of the First Unitarian Society of Plainfield, New Jersey, do earnestly petition Congress to avoid war by all means in its power; and, with that end in view, to take the lead in disarmament, to prohibit the private manufacture and sale of arms, to employ methods of arbitration and to adopt a constructive policy of peace and understanding between the nations.

"And Be It Further Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes and that the Secretary send a copy to our representative in Congress."

Perhaps such action may be suggestive for other Churches.

Very sincerely yours,
ALSON H. ROBINSON.

UNITARIAN MINISTERS RESOLVE

Editor of UNITY:

Will it help the good cause of peace for you to put the enclosed resolution in UNITY? Cordially,
HENRY W. PINKHAM.

Dear Mr. Pinkham:

Yes—decidedly! I shall be interested to see how the Unitarian ministers line up on the proposition. J. H. H.

RESOLUTION.

At the Boston meeting of the Unitarian Ministerial Union, March 31, 1924, it was announced that the following resolution, having been signed by six members of the Union, would be mailed to all the Unitarian ministers of the country who will vote thereon by mail, the result to be reported at a meeting of the Union in May in connection with the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association.

Whereas we see that war is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts mankind today; that it is not only futile but suicidal, and that recognition of this fact is necessary to the continuance of civilization; that it is inherently the defiance of common sense and the denial of common humanity;—

We therefore, as ministers of religion and public teachers of morality, declare now in time of peace our deliberate determination never to sanction or participate in a war; we affirm our conviction that churches as such ought to refuse co-operation with governments in waging war; and we memorialize the American Unitarian Association at its coming session in May to repudiate the entire war system—economic exploitation, imperialism and militarism—to the end that our fellowship may take an honorable if not a leading part among religious bodies in the abolition of war.

other way; and to pledge our co-operation with other churches and with forward-looking men everywhere in a crusade for the swift outlawry of war by international agreement.

The Presbytery of Chicago further petitions the General Assembly to instruct the National Board of Christian Education that it use its staff to agitate for peace by platform, conference, and printed page; and, moreover, that this Board get in touch with our sister denominations, with various peace societies, and with other organizations sympathetic with the aim of peace, with a view to uniting all interested groups behind an aggressive, extra-ecclesiastical agency, through which pressure, moral and political, can be brought to bear upon our political leaders to the end that a Christian zeal for peace may by the grace and power of God achieve a warless world.

WAR—A COLOSSAL SOCIAL SIN

[We have referred in our editorial columns to the Resolutions passed by the Council of Cities of the Methodist Church at its recent meeting in Pittsburgh. In answer to requests, we take pleasure in printing herewith these Resolutions.—J. H. H.]

Resolutions

War is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts mankind today. It is utterly and irremediably un-Christian. It has now become not only futile but suicidal, and recognition of this fact is necessary to the continuance of civilization.

Resolved, That we declare our sincere repentance for past ignorance of, or lack of faith in, Christ's ideals and methods of righting wrong; and

That we memorialize the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church meeting in Springfield, Mass., May, 1924, to declare for an unalterable opposition on the part of our church to the entire war system—economic exploitation, imperialism, and militarism—to call upon the government to co-operate with other nations in organizations looking toward world peace; to inform the government that our church can take no part in any movement toward war, but that we dedicate anew our life and resources to the building of a world brotherhood wherein the principles of the Sermon on the Mount shall be progressively practiced.

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